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## MONTHLY RETROSPECT OF POLITICS.

"How long, deluding phantom, wilt thou  
 blind,  
 Mislead, debase, unhumanize mankind?  
 Bid the bold youth, his headlong sword  
 who draws,  
 Heed not the object, nor inquire the cause;  
 But seek adventuring like an errant knight,  
 Wars not his own, gratuitous in fight,  
 Greet the god's field, then plunging thro'  
 the fire,  
 Mow down his men, with stupid pride  
 expire,  
 Shed from his closing eyes the finish'd  
 flame,  
 And ask for all his crimes, a deathless  
 name?  
 And when shall solid glory, pure and bright,  
 Alone inspire us, and our deeds requite?  
 When shall the applause of men their  
 chiefs pursue  
 In just proportion to the good they do,  
 On virtue's base erect the shrine of fame,  
 Define her empire, and her code proclaim?  
 Alas, what laurels? where the lasting gain?  
 A pompous funeral on a desert plain!  
 The cannon's roar, the muffled drums pro-  
 claim,  
 In one short blast, thy momentary fame,  
 And some war minister per-hazard reads  
 In what far field the tool of placemen  
 bleeds."

*Barlow's Columbiad.*

WAR with destruction and desolation in the van, and *bankruptcy* following close in the rear, still continues the unavailing struggle in the Peninsula. If we look back to the commencement of the struggle, which began about three years ago, there appears little room to congratulate ourselves on the contest. A system of delusion varying according to the alternation of the rapid succession of events has characterized the period. Spanish patriotism was loudly applauded by men who, by every means of cunning or force, had laboured with too much success to eradicate every sentiment that could deserve the name of patriotic from among ourselves, and substituted an indifference and

dislike to principles of freedom, and a suspicion against every thing which bore a resemblance to liberty. These men who Proteus-like, could change appearances, talked loudly of Spanish freedom and Spanish patriotism while the accents were only on their tongues, but the slavish submission to power possessed their hearts. The real friends to liberty, seeing who the men were, who usurped the name, stood aloof: the succeeding events have justified their fears, and the applauders at home, and the Spaniards abroad, have manifested that liberty was more with them a theme for declamation than a vital principle, actuating their conduct, and producing the corresponding effects of a virtuous opposition to arbitrary rule. The friends of true patriotism and genuine liberty are consistent and equally abhorrent of despotism under every shape. They do not merely confine their indignation to the encroachments of Napoleon on sovereign powers, and cannot approve of a violation of the independence of nations, either by an attack on Copenhagen, or by affecting neutral commerce by hostile orders in council.

Such was the beginning of the Spanish and Portuguese contest, and delusions have consistently continued, through the progress, to the approaching termination of the scene. The last month has produced some transactions, which might place matters in a proper point of view, if the spirit of delusion, shifting its ground, did not still keep hold of the public mind. Tarragona is fallen. Cadiz is in danger fully as much from the disaffection of many within the walls, as from the force of the be-

siegers. General Blake has parted from Lord Wellington in consequence of a quarrel between them, and there are some doubts that the laurels of Lord Wellington may yet be tarnished by defeat, although to procure for him a character for heroism appears to have been one cause with ministry to continue the war. The hopes of ultimate success in the Peninsula to some, never appeared flattering, but feeble as rational hopes were, they are monthly, if not daily becoming still more faint.

Sicily long defended by a British force, does not appear to estimate the favour very highly, but shows herself well inclined to harass the trade of her ally, and in point of commerce at least to treat the British as interlopers. Perhaps if the truth were known, their political views do not more nearly approximate.

Whatever may be the event of the contest in Old Spain, the country once called Spanish America, bids fair to become independent of the mother country, whether that unhappy country fall under the domination of France, or receive the protection of Britain. East Florida is likely to follow the fate of West Florida, and to become an integral part of the United States of North America. Mexico, the Caraccas, and the adjacent country under the direction of Miranda, their countryman, have advanced in the work of independence, and farther south, the contest is commenced, although the progress does not appear so great. Chili and Paraguay are agitated, and a species of civil war is begun between the rival and contiguous cities of Buenos Ayres, and Monte Video; the former on a revolutionary scheme, and the latter adhering to the mother country, and the name or shadow of

Ferdinand. The revolutionary party discard, and disavow the name of Spaniards, and proclaim themselves to be Americans. The beginning of what is likely to turn out a mighty revolution, affecting in a very considerable degree the happiness of mankind, and probably altering most materially, the relative situations of the older civilized countries of Europe, is not watched with much attention by our politicians, but in North America from contiguity of situation, and congeniality of views, these passing events excite much interest.

Our relations with the United States of North America are not likely to be speedily or amicably adjusted. The British minister has arrived in America, but it is said that in the very outset of the negotiation some preliminary circumstance has occurred, which required him to solicit fresh instructions from home. Recent accounts from America, state that both countries are indebted to the Prince Regent for suspending the issuing letters of marque, and commencing the war until the result of negotiation was first fairly tried. For a considerable time America and Britain have had a smothered hostility, and the contest between the Little Belt and the President, is only a renewal of the old affair of British aggression on the Chesapeake Frigate. The grounds of the quarrel are not recent, but have been laid long ago, in orders in council, impressments, and violations of neutral rights on one part, and in embargoes, non-importations, and non-intercourse on the other. The Americans complain also, with justice, of the encroachments and domineering conduct of France, and have a difficult part to act between two mighty countries hostile to each other, but neither of them friendly to Americans, who, if they

join with one, give room for complaint from the other, and if they keep to strict neutrality, both will encroach on neutral rights. So fares a weak country between two powerful rivals, at a period when the law of nations is disregarded, and on all sides according to the new code, the law of the strongest governs, and might overcomes right. If the flames of war should extend to America, the friends to man and to happiness, will deplore the madness of nations, and their disregard to their truest interests. May the predictions of Barlow, the poet of America, looking with fond hopes towards the rising glories of his beloved country, rather be realized, and one portion of the world, at least be exempted from the ravages of arms, and the attendant miseries.

"Far different honours here the heart  
shall claim;  
Sublimier objects, deeds of happier fame;  
A new creation waits the western shore,  
And moral triumphs o'er monarchic pow'r.  
Thy free-born sons, with genius unconfin'd,  
Nor sloth can slacken, nor a tyrant bind;  
With self-wrought fame, and worth internal blest,  
No venal star shall brighten on their breast,  
No king-created name, nor courtly art,  
Damp the bold thought, or desiccate the heart.  
Above all fraud, beyond all titles great,  
Truth in their voice and sceptres at their feet,  
Like sires of unborn states they move sublime,  
Look empires through, and span the breadth of time;  
Hold o'er the world, that men may choose from far,  
The palm of peace, or scourge of barbarous war;  
Till their example every nation charms,  
Commands its friendship, and its rage disarms.  
Here social man a second birth shall find,  
And a new range of reason lift his mind,  
Feed his strong intellect with purer light,  
A nobler sense of duty and of right,  
The sense of liberty, whose holy fire

His life shall temper, and his laws inspire,  
Purge from all shades the world embracing scope  
That prompts his genius, and expands his hope."

We refer our readers to the documents for strong resolutions in favour of parliamentary reform, by the counties of Cornwall and Essex, and the town of Reading. The slumbering spirit of Great Britain and Ireland is not yet aroused to use exertions of a strong and united pull, to promote a reform so greatly needed. Apathy characterizes the public mind, and paralyzes the spirit of the country.

ARCHIBALD HAMILTON ROWAN, in a short address to his tenants, has briefly explained the cause of the depreciation of bank-notes, and showed the inconveniences to which landlords will be subjected in the progress of the depreciation.\*

He has likewise pointed out the true remedy in a parliamentary reform. His short communication, given among the documents, is deserving of attention.

Among the documents will also be found the addresses of the Synod of Ulster, alluded to in the last retrospect. We then noticed the ill-adapted adulation paid to the Duke of Richmond, for his "temperate" conduct in Ireland,† and reprobated

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\* When the bank first ceased to pay their notes in specie, and the parliament sanctioned the measure, the following *Jeu d'Esprit* appeared in the Morning Chronicle—how much more seasonable is it at present!

"Of Rome and of Caesar the poets would warble,  
He found it of brick, and left it of marble.  
So of London and George they say without vapour,  
He found it of gold, and left it of paper."

† We are assured that this epithet has been well considered, as his Grace seldom

the offering of incense, by religious bodies, at the shrine of power, or their stooping to attempt to confer praise which was not earned. In the freedom of our remarks, we certainly did not design to act disrespectfully towards the dissenting body, but to exercise the legitimate functions of a free press, in arraigning before the tribunal of the public, those acts which we consider as derogatory to the public good, or inconsistent with the high-minded independence, which constitutes the best defence and glory of a nation. This spirit is now little exerted, the press too generally falls in with the slumbering patriotism, or rather apathy of the day. Be it our boast, and strenuous persevering endeavour, to raise our voice in the attempt to arouse to a sense of what is befitting freemen, the advocates of genuine liberty. Never is the press more honourably or beneficially exercised, than in struggles, firm but temperate, to give a turn to the public mind, in favour of a virtuous feeling of independence. Great good might have been effected, by the guardians of the press, if they had honestly discharged their duty, and while they kept clear of violence, had pursued a steady course, and cautiously avoided—

“ With mean complacence to betray their trust,

Nor be so civil, as to prove unjust.”

Public men would thus see their conduct reflected as in a faithful mirror, and learn to bow at the bar of public opinion, to which they would be cited, where by a free discussion, their merits or demerits should be accurately ascertained, and in the end a faithful verdict pronounced, by the unbiassed and fair—

or ever exceeds two bottles after dinner, which he considers as merely a just tribute to the social genius of Ireland.

ly weighed judgment of their peers. Public opinion, purified by a liberty to exercise free discussion, would regain its omnipotence, and culprits “ safe from the bar, the pulpit and the throne,” would learn to fear public censure, clearly expressed through the medium of a free and enlightened press. Under such circumstances, licentiousness, the affected bugbear of the present day, need not be feared. Every one should be heard in his own defence, and the final judgment not awarded, until ample investigation, both in favour of the accusation, and in defence of the accused, had taken place.

On the 30th ult. and during the prorogation of parliament, a proclamation was issued by the Lord Lieutenant and council, in virtue of which, the Catholic committee is declared an unlawful assembly, violating the provisions of the statute called the convention act, and endangering, thereby, the peace and tranquillity of the state, under pretence of preparing or presenting public petitions or other addresses to his Majesty or the parliament. Thirteen names appear to the proclamation, but it is said that several privy counsellors refused to sign this instrument of executive power. The magistracy throughout the country have expressed an unwillingness to enforce it, particularly in Tipperary, and a Protestant magistrate of three counties has publicly asserted, that he would receive the information of any person who shall complain on oath of receiving any violation from any magistrate or peace-officer acting under this proclamation, while such person has been concerned *only* in forwarding his petition to parliament, in which interpretation of the convention act, he says he is confirmed by the opinion of eminent lawyers.

These lawyers are understood to construe the penal statute, strictly,

in favour of the Catholics, by asserting that the words of the act fully sanction the existence of a committee appointed not "under pretence of," but for the specific, and distinct purpose of petitioning. No pretence of petitioning can be shown to exist. The *intention* and *that only* is distinctly and openly avowed. It has been said that an ingenious lawyer or even an attorney can drive a coach through an act of parliament, and through a hole of this expansible nature there is to be an escape safely made by five millions of people. We will not hesitate to confess our concern at seeing this great state question turned, and twisted into a professional quibbling, a subject of legal *logomachy*. The rights and franchises of a nation are about to be suspended upon the technicality of a particular phrase, upon the slovenly phraseology of an intemperate act of parliament, which, for the *peace*, and *tranquillity* of the land, we certainly think ought to have been suffered to rest in the same sepulchre, with its perturbed author, the late Lord Clare. Notwithstanding the talents and ingenuity of the Catholic lawyers, Mr. O'Connell, Mr. O'Gorman, and the learned and eloquent but rather obsequious Mr. Scully\*, we acknowledge some degree of sorrow on seeing this great question of principle commensurate with millions, and co-extensive with human nature itself, dwindling into the nice dissection of a verbal meaning, and

the special pleading of a profession.

Popular and professional language sometimes differ in their interpretation of terms. In legal acceptance, the words "under the pretence of," and for the purpose of," may by lawyers be deemed synonymous, but certainly in an act meant to guide and direct the conduct of the people, it would have been well to have conformed to the popular understanding, and not entrap them by a language, which only the learned in the law can rightly interpret.

THE RIGHT OF PETITIONING, that sacred claim of those who suffer, is a natural right which municipal law neither gives, nor takes away. Every age and nation has recognized it. It has been consecrated in these realms under the sanction of common and statute law, and it is exerted in Turkey under the sabre of despotism.

The ministerial document appears to be like a posthumous work of Lord Clare, edited by Dr. Duigenan. A prudent and provident administration would not have propagated and perpetuated the temper and spirit of that volcanic character. That temper and spirit will always make the disturbance which it does not find. It irritates and goads by insult even more than by injury. It does not scruple to accuse an assembly most respectable in their personal and public capacity, of acting under a pretence, that is, of hypocritically and insincerely assembling as if to petition, and, under this masque, really entering into conspiracy against the peace and good order of the state. Were any *individual* of this committee to be accused of acting in this manner, it is to be supposed that as a man and a gentleman, he would soon be instructed by his feelings how to repel the insult, yet it is not thought in any

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\* See Mr. Scully's very polite letter to the Editor of the Correspondent. A timidity of giving personal offence on a great public question may be prudent and forecasting, but let not Mr. S. turn aside in his forward march as a man and an Irishman, to beg pardon of every little personage he may happen to jostle with in repelling an insult offered to the whole Catholic people, and, to himself as one of the number.

way unbecoming, in this most public manner, to vilify and asperse the motives and intentions of a large assembly, respectable in property, integrity, and intellect.

Might not the reply, at least, be made, that there is much more reason to accuse administration of acting under a pretence. What pretence? The pretence of preserving peace and good order, while the real and secret purpose may be, to prevent any petitions and addresses, to be made either by Catholics or Protestants, for procuring any alteration or reform in the constitution of these realms. Under the pretext of preserving order and tranquillity, it is virtually an interdict against any public action. It abolishes the people. It resolves the social body into individual particles. It crumbles the aggregate into sand. It reduces the whole fabric into original elements, and renders it a political impossibility, that the voice of the people, or that public opinion can ever, in any constitutional way, produce any reform or change of any kind upon the present constitution of things. Under pretexts such as these, "of serving the ends of factious and seditious persons, of encouraging riot, tumult, and disorder," the democratic part of the British constitution may be totally and for ever dispensed with, and the actual administration may entail their offices to the remotest generations. Yet, on the whole, it is not well to hold out to the British Empire, and to all Europe, that there is an act, which instead of allowing the peaceful petition of an aggrieved portion of the people to be laid before the constituted authorities, blocks up all the customary channels of redress, and *in doing so*, swells up the tide of passion in the breast that might otherwise have obtained an easy vent; and *in doing so*,

gratifies the most ardent wishes of those who really desire confusion and disorder, and who hoard up vengeance for *their* day of retribution.

Who commits most serious injury and injustice to the character of the British constitution; the revolutionary hand which tears from it the right of petitioning, and on a temporary exigence still keeps up the perpetual pretence of interdictory law; or the loyal hand which pens and presents a petition in the only mode by which five millions of people can do it, by peaceful delegation?

But the law exists, says Mr. Pole. We must maintain it. "Our laws, said Pericles, do not allow the removal of the tablet, on which this decree was inscribed." "TURN IT," said the Spartan—or to lengthen a little the laconic monosyllable, we would say, let it become gradually and conveniently obsolete. Cover and conceal it in oblivion. Let not the perpetual thralldom of the land be promulgated and proclaimed, at home and abroad, by every upstart of office, whose rise into distinction, and periods of promotion, are always exact indications of a correspondent depression and degradation in the good fortune, and honest fame of their country. Do not advertise for insurgency. Do not legislate always, as for rebellion. Be not as eager to add to the number of your enemies, as others are to increase the list of their friends.

Does Mr. Pole suppose that the Catholic question is now to be set completely *at rest*, that the lips will cease to move, that the heart will cease to vibrate, and that the circulation of sentiment and feeling will stagnate, the mind of the million returning into that brute insensibility, and quiet indifference respecting political or personal rights, in which it slept for centuries past? Is the "ignavia

per silentium pereuntium," to be again the characteristic description of the Catholic people? What, in past situation, might have had full effect as a *sedative* will under present circumstances operate as a *stimulant*. That a whole people, lessoned for years past, by their very enemies, into a knowledge of the value of political power, as the only valid guarantee of civil freedom, should, in one instant, abandon all claim and expectation of redress; should quietly *inurn* all their rights, even the *rights of mind*; and contentedly return, at a word of ministerial command, into what may be called, a state of solitary imprisonment; this would indeed be a prodigy in human nature of which an historian could scarcely adduce an example, although as much inclined as the historian Livy to the production of such unnatural phenomena. Monsters might have been begotten, and calves might have been heard to speak, and victims at the altar, might have been found without a heart, but such an instance of heartless men at the altar of liberty, as a voluntary renunciation of their claims, and a cessation of exertion on the part of the Catholics would suppose in the present stage of their progress to emancipation, this is a prodigy not to be believed by the most infatuated credulity.

The Catholic question will not, cannot rest. According to all the known laws of animated nature, it must proceed, and succeed. Exterminate the people, This is the only way of giving a thorough settlement to the business. Machiavel, if we may credit the state morality of his "Prince," and not believe it a bitter irony, Machiavel would have thus exterminated the question. But our modern Machiavels only adopt half-measures, and instigate rather than repress, consolidate ra-

ther than scatter, by contempt, and insult, and vexation; by infusing, at one time, the pertness and petulance of private character, the ill-manners of the individual, into the measures of public administration; and at another time, by the adoption of a manner equally vain, ridiculous, and thrasonical.

Thus it has happened that the Catholics, by successive and reiterated strokes, have been hammered into one solid mass, and its distinct parts *welded*, as it were, indissolubly together. All ranks and stations, all degrees of property, all descriptions of character, all distinctions of profession, the peer, and the prelate, and the priest, and the country gentleman, naturally aristocratical, and the lawyer, professionally obsequious,\* and the adherents, and the abhorrents of the Veto, all are politically united in the intercommunion of a common cause, in the manner they affect to say, they are joined in one and indivisible religion.

A few years ago, it was held out, that the Catholic question was only kept up by an assemblage of agitators, petty shop-keepers, raked together from the lanes and alleys of the metropolis, who misrepresented the sentiments of their community, and were disowned and despised by their peerage, their hierarchy, and their men of property and consideration. *It was not the petition of the Catholics of Ireland.* Well, it has been so contrived by a multiplicity of masterly manœuvres, on the part of administration, that all the supposed expetitioning party have come over to the necessity of acting simultaneously in a cause of equal interest to the whole body. But just when they

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\* Sir Samuel Romilly has of late been called by lawyers, the Quirote of the Bar.



are in the progress of demonstrating, by joint petition, the wishes and wants of the Catholics of Ireland, then are they stopt in their passage to the Bar of Parliament. There is a law designed for another purpose, and so far a dead letter, but whose vitality will soon revive when warmed in the bosom. This law will effectually obstruct all communication with the sovereign power in the accustomed ways of the constitution, and all concerted pursuit of redress will be deemed a proof of treasonable conspiracy. Well—what is now to be done? Any thing, rather than forfeit your character as a persevering, patient, yet magnanimous people, whose cause rests upon eternal right, whose failure springs from circumstances in their nature changeable, and fluctuating; from accidents which the day has brought forth, and which another day may wholly remove. In the mean time, appeal to the justice of the constitution from the rigour of the law, and from the political litigiousness of the minister to the *chancery* of a jury, judges of the whole case, the act and the intention, the pretence or the purpose. This is perhaps the most opportune season, to lay before the British empire, a clear, consistent, and energetic *exposition* of the case of the Catholics of Ireland. Whatever may be the event, this would prove a historical document, and the responsibility due to posterity, might thus be discharged.

One principal purpose of petitioning will still be answered. The question will still be eagerly and universally discussed, and agitated. The people will arbitrate. Notwithstanding the ministerial endeavour to drive the subject back into holes and corners, into the terrible necessity of plot, and conspiracy, the native honesty and candour of the Catholic cause only demands exami-

nation, and to be placed in the sunshine. If it be denied access to the high court of parliament, and if, (somewhat ludicrously), the cause of between four and five millions of people is to be pleaded in the hall of the Four-courts, on a question of misdemeanour, why, *there also*, eloquence will fulminate, and reason will illuminate, and truth will vindicate its votaries. An inspiration will descend upon the Catholic lawyer, and upon his protestant associate. The occasion will produce men worthy of it, and more adequate to the times. The better genius of Burke will ascend from the tomb, such as it was when the cause of the American colonists *rectified* his imagination, and fired his genius while it dilated his heart. An Irish Erskine will start forth at the call of honour and humanity, and we doubt not, some future Sir Vicary is already premeditating a popular and patriotic argument, the different steps of which are to be rounds to the ladder of his future exaltation.

Assuredly it would, at this time, be most desirable that the *personal* sentiments of the Prince Regent on a subject so interesting to the weal of the whole empire, could be revealed, somewhat more explicitly. We all know how much depends on the *personalities* of the executive power, and what a turn might take place, from thence, on the prejudices of the people, bigotry being generally bottomed on self-interest. It is certainly a Catholic persuasion at present, that the Prince is personally friendly to their cause. Should this, in an approaching day, turn out a mere delusion, should their hopes be then completely blasted, the disappointment would certainly be dreadful, and the consequences, of a nature not to be dwelt upon. Better, far better, would it be, at the present moment, candidly

and explicitly to make his mind known to the Catholics upon the subject, rather than, at any future period, to have the charge of any studied ambiguity. Sincerity is the glory of our prince, and will form the stability of his throne.

Should it so happen, (which Heaven for the safety of these nations avert), that the strange event of the Prince coalescing really, as well as nominally, with the present premier, should actually take place, all that remains for the whig party is to unite sincerely and substantially with the Burdettites. Not merely to give a reform in parliament the light of their countenance, but the warmth and energy of their cordial support. They will otherwise be left in solitary dereliction, both by Prince and people.

In consequence of the proclamation, an arrest was made, by warrant from the chief-justice, of seven respectable Catholic citizens, (three of them physicians), and bail entered into to a considerable amount, for their appearance at the proper season. The warrant makes use of the words, "for the purpose, *or*, under the pretence," and in doing so, appears to elucidate the ambiguity in the language of the act of parliament. More arrests may possibly be made in the city, and some in the country, when means become more easy of getting the necessary oaths of information, as it has been already asserted, that one of the persons so informed against *on oath*, had no share whatever in the election of delegates.

The commission of the peace has been taken from Mr. Ledwith, the magistrate who interpreted the act in favour of petitioning, and promised to defend the petitioners in conforming to that sense of the act.

Elections have proceeded through the counties of Mayo, Tipperary,

Queen's, Galway, Kilkenny, Sligo, and Kerry. Wherever the Catholic population is greatest, there the Protestant mind is most inclined to the cause of emancipation. Where the Catholics are best known, they are most trusted. Bigotry views that body only through the monster-making medium of partial and prejudiced history.

With regard to the subject that commands the national sympathy, and is so interesting to parties as well as individuals, it has been difficult to penetrate the professional ambiguity of medical bulletins, and it is only from the examination of the physicians by the Queen's council, that any certain information can be obtained. It is unfortunate, that during the sessions, the people are supposed so completely merged in the legislature, as to be personated in the common's-house, rather than represented; and during the *interval* of the sessions, no official documents are presented to the public eye. When an eloquent member of the Irish House turned his eyes to the gallery, and invoked the verdict of public opinion, he was reprimanded by the speaker, and got off merely by the ready fiction, that he had only addressed the *constructive* majesty of the people. In the *mean time*, the exact state of his majesty's health can only be guessed at. Apollo is said to be the god both of physic and of prophesy, and hence medical responses have always a great degree of oracular uncertainty. An old wily physician, when "put to the question," on the nature of the patient's malady, used to make his ready answer, that it was a *complication*, and found a safe shelter under the magnitude and shade of the word. The medical prognostic, in the present most calamitous case, has not done much honour to the professional sagacity of the prac-

tioners; and in the case of Mr. Pitt, confident hope was held out by the physicians, at a time when certainly his most sanguine friends had but slight expectations of his recovery. Whether political feelings can *unconsciously* intermix with professional opinions, it is not easy to say; but we are certain, that they can have no influence whatever, when the information is given on oath, and on such information, when brought before them, the public may perfectly rely.

We cannot help noticing a new extravagance of the day, a sort of modern crusade, which has of late been held forth from the pulpit, by preachers, who perambulate the land, for the purpose of persuading the people to assist or associate, in the urgent necessity of *converting the Jews*, and reclaiming the lost sheep of Israel. It is not meant to besiege Jerusalem, but merely to make a conquest of reason over the perverse people, who, of old, inhabited Palestine. The attempt will not be more successful in the latter case. The Missionary wishes to make as it were, a sudden conquest of Hindostan, or of Judaism, but he finds the timid, and, in other respects, tractable Hindoo, as impracticable, as the stubborn and incorrigible Israelite. The apparent converts in India are, in general, outcasts of their community. It is only by a slow and gradual assimilation, by a gentle but constant change of manners and customs, and by a wise direction in political regulations, that the early habitudes of a people, which have become a second and a stronger nature, can ever be overcome. The converted are in many, perhaps in most instances, only perverted. The power of mind necessary for real conversion is possessed by few, while such numbers may be baptized, that the wearied hands must

be supported, in the performance of the office. It is time enough to set about the conversion of the Jews, when you have converted christians into christianity.

In these vagaries of warm and credulous imagination, that periodically pass through the people, we imagine that we find additional causes of that political apathy so characteristic of the times, of that heedlessness and inattention to civic duties, which is so alarming at such a moment as the present. For the purpose of diverting the mind of the people from political topics, and giving it a new direction, innocent with respect to any change in matters of state, we think the higher allied powers of church and state connive at the religious extravagances of the day. They would appear to prefer to the light of philosophy, which illumines the understanding, and cherishes the adoration of the heart, to this light of enquiry and investigation, they would seem to prefer even the light of modern methodism, if that can be called a *light*, which propagates the darkness of mystery; with a proud pretence to extraordinary piety, perpetuates the blindness of ignorance; sets religion at variance with philosophy; and would dare to make the worship of God incompatible with the knowledge of his works.

The truer worship of God consists in the performance of our various duties, *in the assertion of our rights*, the pursuit of knowledge, and the communication of happiness. The first and final answer which the light of Methodism affords to any question concerning the phenomena of nature, or the uses of their different changes, ratifies and sanctions ignorance, and inaction, by the name of God. Ostentatious in its humility, proud in its

self-abasement, the piety so popular at present, and as we think not discouraged, affects to discredit and despise all investigation into the nature of things, pretends to see God *only*, who *can be seen only* in his works, over which this false devotion would drop a curtain of darkness. That just power of Invention is discredited, which searches for the causes of things, and having mounted to a higher link in the series of causes and effects, (by which this universe is suspended as with a golden chain from the throne of Heaven), we not only command a more extensive view of nature, but can act upon the surrounding elements with greater power, with a stronger purchase, and make them, as it were, the *ariels* of our bidding, for use or for pleasure. This, we think, is a true worship of God. When held in the light cast by such a worship, the light of Methodism is a candle held in the mid-day sun—the flame becomes invisible.

Knowledge of all kinds is associated. A spirit-stirring activity in consequence will pervade the national mind. "Fiat Lux" is the motto that renders man good in the sight of his Maker. But ignorance and apathy, both personal and *political*, are well known to be as indissolubly connected. "Keep henceforth," (said one of the tyrants of Athens; to Socrates); keep at a proper distance from the carpenters, smiths, and shoemakers, and let us no more have your examples from among them." It is then our belief, that these various missions, of a nature often captivating by their eccentricity, tickling the imagination, rather than teaching the heart, these new *spiritual* organizations of society, are, unconsciously to their agents, made the instruments of *wilting the people away*, from the

one thing most immediately needful, which, when once procured, would, in its effects, gradually but surely (for we disbelieve the efficacy of sudden conversions, either religious or political), establish the happiness and glory of the British empire.—That one thing needful is, THE RADICAL REFORM OF THE REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE IN PARLIAMENT.

The King's malady increases. All hopes of restoration to mental sanity appear to be abandoned, and a speedy termination to his bodily sufferings is anticipated. The present is a period of anxious suspense. Will the Prince in his new character adhere to his professions, and support the claims of the Catholics? Dark insinuations on this subject in the form of fears on one side, and hopes on the other are thrown out. We will not give credit to such reports, until we see much stronger grounds for belief, than are yet afforded. Rumours are also afloat that by an insidious manœuvre of appropriating a million and a half of the Droits of the admiralty\* to a special purpose, the continuation of the present ministry in power is secured as a reward for a favour conferred. Here also we suspend our belief. The political machine is in great danger. Skilful management free from the extremes of indecision and rashness may do much. But above all things scrupulous honesty and undeviating integrity free from all political finessence are essentially necessary. An error in the prudent direction of the

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\* The Droits of the admiralty arise from the produce of prizes taken before an actual declaration of war. According to feudal notions these are considered as seigniorial rights belonging to the crown. They are occasionally appropriated at the will of the sovereign on the responsibility of ministers. At present a large accumulation is supposed to exist.

reins may precipitate the machine of government, into one of the dreadful precipices, by which the present rough and narrow road is surrounded.

### DOCUMENTS.

#### PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

*At a meeting of the friends of Parliamentary Reform in Cornwall, held at Bodmin on Monday the 8th of July, 1811.*

Edw. Wm. Stackhouse, esq. in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

##### *Resolved,*

I.—That we cordially agree with the friends of parliamentary reform who met in London the 10th of June, that the house of commons does not represent the people; that it does not speak the sense of the nation; that to the defective state of the representation and the unconstitutional duration of parliaments, we owe unnecessary wars, the present enormous accumulation of Public debt, a load of taxes, grievous from their weight, but especially oppressive from the mode by which they are collected and enforced, the overthrow of the balance of power abroad, and the consolidation of a corrupt system of influence at home, which takes away every shadow of authority and credit from the most venerable parts of our constitution.

II.—That therefore a reform in the representation of the people is essential to the independence of the crown and the liberty of the people.

III.—That a constitutional reform will alone be adequate or efficient, which shall restore to the crown the free exercise of the prerogatives entrusted to it by the constitution for the common weal, and to the people the full enjoyment of those true, ancient, and indubitable rights and privileges, which they are entitled to pray and demand according to the laws and statutes of the realm.

IV.—That by the laws and statutes of the realm, the subject has settled in him a true and fundamental right of property, and that without his consent, it shall not be taken from him; that therefore he shall not be compelled to contribute to any tax, talliage, aid, or other like charge, not set by common consent in parliament; since in parliament all the whole body of the realm, and every particular member thereof, either in person or by representation

(and that upon their own free election) are by the laws supposed to be personally present.

V.—That by the present state of the representation, the subjects' fundamental rights of property and free election are openly violated, since it is a fact that cannot be denied, that numbers are taxed by parliament who have no voice in the election of members of parliament; and it is a fact of which proof was tendered at the bar of the house of commons, that one hundred and fifty four powerful individuals, peers and others, by influence or direct nomination, return an actual majority of that house.

VI.—That as the right of election was by the constitution designed to give to the people that man, and that man only, whom by their voices actually, not constructively given, they declare they know, esteem, love, and trust, so can it not be satisfied by a representation that exists only in the forms and fictions of law. A virtual representation therefore, however modified, we protest against as a violation of our constitutional rights and privileges: as being itself a solecism in terms; as contradicting the king's command, that the knights, citizens, and burgesses be chosen freely and indifferently: as being repugnant to the spirit of the constitution, and to the obvious intent and purpose of the laws by which the right of common consent is fenced and secured; and lastly, as being cunningly calculated to enslave the people under the shew and forms of freedom.

VII. That so long, therefore, as there is reason to suspect that a majority of the House of Commons, instead of being the freely chosen delegates of a free people, are the nominees of an odious oligarchy, so long shall we complain that the constitution is violated, and that a reform in the representation is necessary; that therefore economical reform, a reform which has only for its object to shorten the duration of parliaments, and diminish the expenses of elections, will not satisfy us; coupled indeed with a constitutional reform, we should hail these measures as essential to the independence of the crown and the liberties of the people; but without a constitutional reform we object to them; because as they do not restore our constitutional rights, and as experience has shewn how vain is the attempt to restrain waste, correct abuses, and prevent corruption by measures of mere management